

# PEACE NEWS

No. 582 August 22, 1947 3d.

## "Enriched in Captivity"

ON Saturday, August 9, more German PoWs were entertained by the members of the Bournemouth and district groups of the PPU. This time it was in the grounds belonging to Mrs. Hull of West Howe. There were games and prizes, songs and even a tug-o'-war—the kind of war by which diplomatic disputes should be settled.

The Rev. Pope, an active and highly respected member of the PPU, delivered a speech, explaining the views and ideals of the people, arranging these parties (altogether four have taken place so far this summer), and inviting the German friends to ask questions and express their views.

In conclusion, Herr Theune replied as follows:—

"LADIES and Gentlemen, it is an honour to speak to you on behalf of my comrades and myself.

"First of all, I should like to thank you all for the part you took in this gathering, by word or deed.

"I feel sure no one of us Germans anticipated such an event as this when we were captured, and none of us thought that our lives would be so enriched in captivity. The understanding and reconciliation which you offer us we take as a gift from you. In the first place, we are glad to learn something.

### DARK FUTURE

"We German soldiers came here from afar; we have seen much, and we were often disillusioned. Our country lies in ruins, and is in a state of chaos, our future is dark. Under such conditions we meet human beings who not only greet us with words of understanding and reconciliation, but also act according to their words. Whatever guilt there may be on the side of the German nation, we are glad to meet friends. It means very much to us. The impressions that we get during our stay in your country will grow like a plant, and will help us to build a better future when we are back in Germany.

"Believe me, personal contact has a dominating influence upon man, an influence that will cause the collapse of the extreme propaganda by press and wireless. When we are again reunited with our relatives and the German people, then we shall be 'givers'—we shall pass on to them what we have seen and heard. We believe that just those who suffered most from this terrible war have acquired the knowledge: No more war. The aim of mankind shall be Union. In this respect you will find us open-minded and grateful.

### "GAIN FOR OUR FUTURE"

"The time of our captivity was filled with much trouble, good and bad impressions, hope and despondency, and last but not least, with hospitality and friendly relations between you and us. In this way, in spite of the awful length of our captivity, we shall have a gain for our future. This is your merit for which we are grateful to you."

Before parting, the Germans sang Brahms' Lullaby, then all present joined hands and sang "Auld Lang Syne."

L. PERNO.

# MANPOWER OR MONEY-POWER

IN the distant days before the war they used to talk about the "Unemployment Problem." They talked as though the object of work was to provide jobs for people. You would never have imagined that the purpose was to make things for use—on the contrary, the products of work rather frightened the politicians and economists. They spent their time devising schemes to keep goods out of the country, and trying to create new demands for a supposed "surplus." When there was enough of everything for everybody it was called a "slump." As B. J. Boothroyd pointed out on one occasion, it was like a railway brought to a standstill because of a shortage of tickets.

The tickets were represented by money. Poverty in the midst of plenty meant that the plenty could not be distributed, because of a "shortage of money." Nobody thought of issuing more tickets, still less of dispensing with them altogether. Nobody, except a few cranks. The American "New Deal," on the other hand, began with the assumption that wealth meant limiting production to keep up prices. They paid farmers to plough in growing cotton and to refrain from rearing pigs.

If the war has brought one useful revolution in thought, it is the realisation that wealth means raw materials and man-power. For the moment, at least, we no longer discuss employment as though it meant setting men to dig holes and fill them up again, as an excuse for giving them tickets to live on the labour of others. We know now that wealth must be measured by our capacity to produce articles of use and value. But we are still confused about money. There is still a tendency to think that making money is making wealth, which is the reverse of the truth. Making, saving, or earning money is merely the means whereby we obtain a legal right to dispose of wealth—whether we have added to it or not.

### Money and trust

Pacifists, of all people, should be most clear-headed on this point and its many implications; but I doubt if they are. Tolstoy saw it, and tried to live the pacifist life in relation to money—a very difficult thing for an individual in a money-ridden world.

by

Reginald  
Reynolds

The essence of the pacifist philosophy is trust. Don't seek to coerce your neighbour—trust him. In international politics this means no frontiers and no armies, no colonies and no "security" except goodwill. In economics it means no "employment" for the profit of shareholders, no protection of "private property," except the goodwill which allows to each person reasonable enjoyment of things for his personal use and the raw materials necessary for his personal labour for the community.

### Economic pacifism

That is economic pacifism, and in it there is no room for a money system. Money spells mistrust. It's not easy to get rid of the mistrust and to dispense meanwhile with money; and I'm not discussing here the steps that should be taken by individuals. But we should be clear that a pacifist world would be a world in which people would not need to buy and sell or barter. It would be a world of mutual service, based upon voluntary labour, free sharing and trusting one's fellows.

If this were more fully realised it would be immediately seen that

## The Crisis of Freedom

### COMMENTARY by ROY SHERWOOD

glimmering of constructive thought. There is no need for him to come to the microphone, for us to know that he does not like the results of the last general election.

### Indifference or resignation?

AS for the general public, the fashionable complaint is that it is not taking the situation seriously enough. But it is difficult to know how much of its alleged indifference is genuine and how much is not indifference at all but sheer, inarticulate resignation to the inevitable. Even if the indifference is genuine, in which case it is, incidentally, a premonitory symptom of serious danger to the rule of democracy, it should be studied—not merely condemned.

The truth is that the really fundamental facts of the situation have never been put clearly before the millions of people who are too busy earning a living to have the time to study economics; and that most of the people who could explain these facts are unwilling to begin at the beginning. We have heard—and *ad nauseum*—about the exhaustion of our overseas assets and the need to pay for our imports by a stupendous increase in our exports. But where is the speech by a Labour Minister, the book or pamphlet in easy-to-read terms, or the series of articles in a widely circulating Daily or Sunday paper, explaining to the man or woman who has never held as much as a shilling share of overseas investment, how and why their own living

pacifism provides the answer, not merely to the problem of war, but to the major economic crisis the world is facing at present. The world is desperately short of real wealth in the form of goods—short of food and fuel and clothing and building materials, short of every useful article, short (above all) of man-power to make the things it needs. Now, if ever, is the time to show our fellow men that the realities which unite us are greater than those which appear to divide.

### Service and servility

The ground is not untilled. Even since the war created this new demand for man-power the idea of "service" has been officially propagated. We have not always agreed with our government as to what forms of "service" are desirable. Nor are we likely to agree with them when, by measures of compulsion, they turn service into servility and try to make serfs of those who serve. But that is just an example of the split mind in society. Men are expected to work for the profit of shareholders and at the same time to feel the patriotic fervour of a good public servant. They are conscripted by every threat from the political powers by which they are "directed" to jobs—and then they are expected to feel the enthusiasm of a volunteer!

But foolish as this sounds—and preposterous as, in fact, it is—the appeals to a "community sense" in the frantic outbursts of panic-stricken ministers may, in sober truth, mark the beginning of a new era. They mean that the alleged "economic incentives," so dear to capitalists and Marxists alike, have broken down. When governments appeal from the futility of Mammon to human goodness and decency we have indeed reached a crisis. But the new appeal can only be successful if the contradictory claims of Mammon are repudiated.

(Next week Reginald Reynolds will show what a successful appeal involves).

standard within this country was nevertheless higher as a result of these assets individually possessed by people whom they only envied, than it could have been without them? And where is the analogous publication, showing the difference between the proportion of national earnings which must go to the purchase of foodstuffs from abroad in the cases of, say, this country and France, this country and Russia, or this country and any other to which the puzzled British housewife now turns a disgruntled face, in comparison between their people's lot and ours?

### Genuine, but ignorant

WHEN the man-in-the-street agrees that India should have her freedom, that the pestilential conditions of labour in the West Indies must cease, the rubber, tea, cocoa, rice and a score of other products must no longer mean wealth to the few and abject poverty to the native labour producing them, he is genuine. But he is also completely ignorant of the extent to which he has himself benefited by the conditions of the past, and blind to the realisation that, what this country is now up against, if it wants to avoid constantly progressive impoverishment, is this: to look upon the present standard as still far above that to which we can lay claim, since it has been maintained only by vast borrowings, and to look upon every improvement desired in it as something to be attained only at the cost of extra effort.

It is merely silly to fail to see that, viewed from the American angle, all expectations by us of help from America look like attempts to finance our socialism and shorter working

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX)



# PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4  
Stamford Hill 2262

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## Peace Policies

**T**HE world—or that part of it which is allowed to hear and choose between alternative policies—is faced with four different answers to the question: How can we end war?

The first is the old one, of establishing so nice a balance of power that no State will take the risk of attacking its neighbour. That seems to be the answer presupposed by most current diplomatic manoeuvres—and it is entirely anachronistic. In the past, an alteration of the balance of power was usually the signal for aggression; now, with the coming of the radio-controlled, atomic age, aggression will be the signal for an alteration of the balance of power: the strongest nation will be the weakest if only it is the first to be attacked.

The second answer is expressed in the time-dishonoured pacifist slogan, "Wars will cease when men refuse to fight," which, if it is not a pleonasm ("wars will cease when there are no more wars") or a flat untruth ("wars will cease when some men refuse to fight"), must mean that wars will cease only when the world is populated with conscientious objectors. Since it is obvious that, long before any such happy consummation was reached, men would have ceased because wars did not, we may presume that nobody really believes it.

The third answer is that the nations of the world should surrender their national sovereignty to the extent of submitting their factories and arsenals to inspection by an international authority with power to enforce its regulations. It is now an established fact that this can only be brought about by serving the Soviet Government with an ultimatum, backed by the threat of atomic war—Subscribe to this scheme, or else. . . Already there are voices in the U.S.A. calling for such measures to be taken, and they might easily be effective.

The fourth alternative is that the democracies should, by majority legislation, adopt a policy of unilateral disarmament. That seems remote indeed, but there are grounds for hope even now—firmer grounds than in 1939 at least. For one thing, whereas in 1939 unemployment could be avoided only by massive rearmament, today it can be avoided only by a measure of disarmament; for another, Britain and France are being compelled, by force of circumstance, to create a West European Union, while the Scandinavian countries and Switzerland will only enter such a Union if their neutrality is not seriously compromised. The voice of neutrality and disarmament must be heard in the councils of Europe.

Furthermore, it is becoming clear that such a policy does not imply, as the pacifist policy does, temporary military weakness: for unless and until the democracies were prepared to disarm completely, they would be free to arm themselves to the utmost. It does not involve them in the discreditable and discredited moves of appeasement, or its advocates in the moral burden and contradictions of conscientious objection.

The adoption by Western Europe of such a policy would not prevent war unless it strengthened immeasurably the hand of those who advance it in America. But there is at least a possibility of that, and one thing is certain—the only alternative is the answer we have stated third in our list, the answer which could spell "preventive war." Sooner or later, as the burden of armaments grows heavier, and the dread of war more intolerable, a choice will have to be made between these two—but by that time the likelihood of a successful ultimatum will in all probability have been ruled out: it will be unilateral disarmament or nothing.

# BRITANNIA HEAD-IN-AIR

**I**F it is true that pacifists lack a necessary sense of reality, then it is clear that truly they are Britannia's sons and daughters. Unable, as our critics say, to see men for what they really are, then we prove ourselves to belong to a country which during the last ten years has seen little for what it is.

We British said we would spend up to our last shilling for victory. The country said it in 1854, in 1914, and again in 1939. Finally we have spent a great deal more. Instead of possessing a last shilling we owe dollars. But had we the least idea of what the words meant? Evidently not; for having emptied the cash box we have merrily said, "there is still plenty," and we have proceeded to work less, draw more pay, and print more fictitious promissory notes to meet the cost.

## EMPTY PROMISES

But the British world of dreams is not in Britain only. We guaranteed Poland—from what? We promised the Jews—again, what? Before, and not after, going to war, the British government turned all the country's young men into enforced soldiers—as a preventative. What did it prevent?

Launching the bombers, we said that we were not in arms against the German people. Yet millions of Germans, collectively our prisoners, are homeless and starving.

When Russia attacked Finland everybody in this country said one thing. Russia was attacked and we said entirely the opposite. Were we in either case trying to see reality and put perception into exact words?

We British people have wandered in a maze. Tripped up at home by economic facts of the simplest kind, we are rubbing our heads and beginning to see truth for what it is. But how much has yet to be learned? And beyond understanding, how greatly we have yet to repent?

When the German generals in 1944 tried to kill Hitler they wrote in letters of fire the truth that the Nazi faith had failed and was repudiated, and that every good intention in Germany's enemies was already achieved. What misery, suffering, tortures, could then have been kept from mankind? But wild imagina-

—by—

## PERCY REDFERN

tion destroyed both sense and pity. We would not reduce our dream of total victory. And now we can give the Germans neither freedom in unity, nor democracy, nor bread; and Europe is crippled and (still imagining a passing crisis) we descend to a new poverty that must be long lasting.

## NUREMBERG FALLACY

Yet still we live head-in-air. At Nuremberg we placed the Nazi crimes against a moral background that in fact did not exist. We continue to assume that there is a society of nations all humane, co-operative, reasonable, a good society against which Germany alone has sinned, but to which eventually she may be again promoted. Living in mid-Europe, for below the comfort of dreams, the Germans not only are sceptical, they are cynical.

The main obstacle to this gentle faith, Russia herself, cannot be accused of aiding the hypnotism. The Stalin government vetoes, dissents, disagrees, upsets undertakings, goes its own violent way. But still we believe, or pretend to, saying it will be different in November; then the conference of ministers will reach accord!

We pacifists no less cultivate illusion. The Stalin government publishes the official story of its origin (*The History of the Civil War in Russia*, English translation, Lawrence and Wishart, 1947) demonstrating faith in armed force as the only means to success; and it so inculcates the faith that Russia has become the only big country in which as its government has told us, there are no pacifists no conscientious objectors. But still, we imagine a Russia friendly to pacifists and desirable.

## DISILLUSIONMENT

There is probably no more certain indication that a mood of deepest disillusionment is upon the people of this country than the fact that so many organisations of almost every description are in financial difficulties.

To put it on a sound basis the Labour Party is launching a scheme which should bring in £500,000; a Conservative writer in the Daily Telegraph comments enviously that he wishes it was possible for his Party, which has never been wealthy and is now experiencing the same difficulties as everyone else, to think in such large figures; a recent note reveals that the Communist daily newspaper, the Daily Worker, owing to additional running costs, made a loss of £4,000 in three months. Most people could, from the appeals that come through their letter box, add to this evidence. The only solace that we can draw from this is that it supports our belief that the difficulties which the PPU is experiencing are not due to our members having found a better way than pacifism of promoting world peace. They are not disillusioned with the PPU in particular; they are just disillusioned.

Such moods are not floods; they are only waves. Contributions to the HQ Fund are one way of ensuring that when this one has passed the PPU will remain.

MAUD ROWNTREE.

Treasurer.  
Contributions to HQ Fund since Aug. 8:  
£11 13s. 9d. Year's total to date:  
£131 7s. 2d.

Donations to the fund should be sent, marked "Headquarters Fund," to the Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

We must awake from every dream. What, then, shall we do? Continue what we have begun in India, where at least we have realised that fifty or seventy millions cannot hold in mastery four hundred millions of potential enemies. Wherever British rule exists the true alternative is either to transform it into a friendship which former subjects can welcome and value, or retire.

And where we do not rule, the future can only be with friendship or neutrality. Demonstrate throughout the world that we are no armed menace, and that if we exercise the human right to criticise it is for truth and common good, and we take away many pillars of the faith in force.

But since good is not won in comfort and may never win except through a constancy stronger than suffering, we pacifists have need to learn, and then teach all we can discover and take to ourselves concerning forms of passive resistance (national and individual) void of fear and malice.

Visions of gentle progress are dead and gone. The hard world is even harder for those who would father the good. Only faith true to death, and beyond, can have hope. To this truth we must awake.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Broadcasting freedom

**N**O doubt you people in England find frequent fault with your BBC. But you should thank your stars that at least you have a radio divorced from direct Government control. Here such control is complete. As a result, there is never any opportunity for the discussion of controversial subjects over the air, not even debates or open forums. Such a mild broadcast as that of Dr. Donald Soper's (PN, April 25), for example, would be unthinkable here. In fact, a pacifist would never be allowed on the air.

There have been frequent requests for the opening of the radio for free discussion, but without result. The Minister of Broadcasting (who is also Minister of Defence) not long ago replied that in New Zealand there was already ample provision for the discussion of controversial subjects over the radio—because Parliament is broadcast! (Apart from the fatuity of that remark, a weakness of Parliamentary broadcasting itself is that members "play" to the unseen gallery of voters when Parliament is on the air.)

An illustration of the negative effect of Government control is seen in a recent sudden cancellation of a series of educational talks broadcast for schools, on "How Things Begin," which had already been broadcast for schools in England. No official explanation has been given, and there have been protests on the ground that the cancellation was caused by minority pressure. A letter was earlier published in the Press from "The Evolution Protest Movement," objecting to the assumption of the talks. Religious services are broadcast (the principal churches working on a quota according to membership), but there is implied agreement to avoid "con-

troversial" or "political" subjects when on the air.

Twelve years of Labour rule have not led to a marked increase of light and liberty in some directions. I hope your experience will be better (but I question whether Labour administering capitalism, even slightly modified capitalism, can produce significant achievements. And the desire—natural enough—to stay in hard-won office must tend towards the contraction of freedom of expression. I hope I'm a false prophet).

A. C. BARRINGTON.

57 Rodrigo Road,  
Kilbirnie, Wellington,  
New Zealand.

### To secure our future

**T**HOUSANDS of English-reading Germans would be happy to read PN regularly, but unfortunately they are not able to subscribe directly, owing alone to the temporary difficulties of payments.

On the other side are thousands more subscribers wanted, in order to save the existence of PN, which is now in danger, according to the statements of the Editor.

Indeed, PN is the only pacifist newspaper in England, and has many friends in Germany, and as far as I know, also in other European countries. PN is really indispensable today, more than ever, for the promotion of mutual understanding between the nations, and to foster the high and sublime ideas of peace.

All friends of PN will agree that this newspaper, small, but of such a high level, never should fail, and that at any rate, her existence must be secured for all future.

Help is urgently needed or it will be too late.—Well, I dare to beg all people in England who are willing, and in a position to do so, to take out extra subscriptions in favour of

German pacifists; and all readers of this appeal in Germany, who want to get PN continuously, should only send their names and addresses to PN.

I am sure that this will lead at once to a considerable increase of the present circulation of PN. The English people is a generous one, and has shown already so many signs of goodwill against us Germans since the capitulation. Every extra subscription would be not only a wonderful gift by noble minded English ladies and gentlemen for German pacifists, but on the whole, help the cause of pacifism.

KARL H. GREGGERSEN.

(24b) Schleswig, Lollfuss 8,  
British Occupation Zone,  
Schleswig-Holstein.

(PN Office will be very glad to utilise any subscription sent for this purpose, and has already arranged for many friends in Germany to receive copies. Subscription rates to Germany are: 3s. 10d. a quarter, 7s. 7d. a half-year, 14s. 4d. a year).

### Church and common man

**T**O my mind the two articles which have appeared in Peace News by Dr. Rowland Jones, have made Peace News reading 100 per cent. better. Dr. Rowland Jones knows what we want, and is not afraid to get at the root of the whole trouble. The Churches have betrayed the common man, and Dr. Jones is not afraid to say so.

The common man wants peace, and it's up to our paper and PPU members to make it plain what we stand for. We have far too many articles in Peace News which make no appeal to the people. Dr. Jones's article is straightforward, and can be read by anyone, and I hope we shall get more articles in Peace News from him.

P. W. HALLAM.

12 Station Road,  
Lowdham, Notts.



## RACE PREJUDICE IN NEW ZEALAND

**T**HE total population of New Zealand proper is 1,676,293, occupying a most fertile land about the size of Great Britain. The population includes 100,870 Maoris, 2,943 Chinese, 1,261 Syrians, 988 Polynesians and 1,200 Indians. Although it does not appear explicitly in any Statute, an absolute colour bar has operated in immigration policy since 1920 when an "Undesirable Aliens Exclusion Act" came into force. Since then no Indian, Chinese, or other "coloured" people have been allowed to take up permanent residence.

Compared with many countries, the colour problem has not been acute but it may be intensified now that the Maoris have converted near-extinction into a rate of increase far exceeding the European. Generally speaking, their power being broken, the decimated remnant of Maori people has been dealt with reasonably well—although the majority of Europeans, who do not come into direct contact with the Maoris, may be inclined to congratulate themselves rather more than results justify. Maoris elect their own members to the New Zealand Parliament, and native schools, Native Land Courts, Agriculture Department and Health Services contribute much to Maori welfare. But choice of occupation tends to be restricted and race discrimination operates at different levels in different areas. Theoretically the Maori has equality; in practice, its working out is often difficult and sometimes abandoned.

An illustration of race prejudice was recently given wide publicity in the press. Fortunately it proved abortive, but it probably represents a fairly substantial sub-stratum of opinion. It also revealed the existence of a "White New Zealand League" which it is safe to say most people had never previously heard of, although its secretary holds a public position as a member of the Auckland Hospital Board.

### No encouragement

The matter arose in this way. Hospital boards received a letter from the Nursing Division of the Health Department asking for co-operation in a scheme whereby educated, English-speaking Indian girls would come to New Zealand annually to be trained as nurses in our hospitals and return to India after four years. It is part of a wide scheme to improve Indian medical services and is already in operation in England and Canada. The Auckland Board's proportion would be two or three of the girls. The Press reported strong opposition by Mr. G. T. Parvin at the Board meeting. He said that "as secretary of the White New Zealand League he had a lot to do with Asiatics and they should not be encouraged in way whatsoever."

Other Board members expressed surprise at his views and opposed them and the Board agreed to the scheme in principle. The President of the "All-New Zealand Central Indian Association" wrote to the Press pointing out how unchristian was Mr. Parvin's attitude and recalling that the girls would be British subjects (although this has not prevented the absolute exclusion of Indian settlers since 1920). But an anonymous correspondent replying to a supporting letter of my own referred to "the Asiatic problem in South Africa" and said "I think it would be catastrophic to allow any number of Asiatics to settle in this country."

### In reverse

At the same time the Press carries a report of the colour bar in reverse! The Lord Mayor of Perth (Australia) says that "Communism was rampant among the coloured people in north-west ports and a hostile attitude was being adopted towards white men. . . The Malayan crews of pearling vessels would not allow a white man to go to sea with them. . . When the white men were served first in a Broome hotel the Malays declared the hotel black." (Wellington N.Z. "Evening Post," 26/7/47).

**A. C. Barrington**

# HOW IS GERMANY?

**O**N arriving in Germany one does not immediately have the impression of being in a foreign country, but rather in some outlying part of England. Everywhere English seems to be spoken, everywhere one sees the khaki and R.A.F. uniforms, British military directions and road signs, Y.M.C.A.s, Toc H, etc.; in fact, Bad Salzungen, the first German town I saw, seemed like any provincial English town. The civilians looked like English country people, brown and apparently healthy, and quite neatly dressed. Also, on driving through the town, the shops seemed far from empty and there was no evidence of destruction or great suffering.

Later in the day I decided to walk through the town and look at things a little more closely. I went to one marvellous shop window stuffed with so many goods, and then I saw that this was one of the many barter shops; in every town there are scores of them. You can exchange an old bicycle for a suit, a hammock for a chair, or less valuable articles, such as a couple of used pipes for a bucket, or a bathing suit and cap for two saucepans—even a roll of thread for one preserving jar!

### FIRST SHOCK

Looking at the little cards under these miscellaneous articles gave me the first shock. The jewellers' windows, which had seemed so prosperous, had the same little cards, saying that this or that piece could be bought if so much gold or silver were given up. The chemists' shops seemed to be the only places where one could actually buy things—a pint bottle of disinfectant, for instance, at 22 marks (half a week's wages for some workers), and plenty of expensive cosmetics. When I went into a grocery store and asked what there was for sale off the ration, the woman did not seem to understand, but finally said "aromas." These are bottles of poisonous coloured liquid, and I cannot imagine what people could use them for. All the other foodstuffs formed part of the scanty ration, and the goods in the windows were papier-mâché dummies left over from the days of peace.

I also noticed that what had at first struck me as the healthy appearance of the people was due almost entirely to sunburn, which helped to disguise the symptoms of malnutrition. Their clothing, which at first sight seemed so neat, on closer inspection proved to be very old, but preserving an appearance by constant washing and patching. Almost no one had good shoes, and one often saw women going bare-footed.

### DINNER - OR DINNER

I went back to the press camp for dinner. "Press camp" is a misleading title; it was one of the best hotels in the town, commandeered by the British. Dinner was indeed dinner, and at the risk of seeming tedious I will describe it in full. Soup, a plate of snow-white bread (with the crusts cut off), as much butter as desired, then cold ham, pressed beef, corned beef, cold roast beef, twelve different salads and roast potatoes, fruit pudding with custard, Roquefort cheese, coffee. This was my first meal; later on I learned that this was only a very average dinner. Usually there were two sweets and a savoury.

The same day a German told me that a few months ago people had queued up at the pigfood buyer's for the white loaves which had found their way wholesale into the British Control Commission pig-bins. The Germans bought the food from the pigfood buyers at exorbitant prices.

This was how the conquerors fed; the next day I saw the reverse of the picture. I was taken by a German family to a German restaurant and invited to share a meal with them. Of course, they had to give up meal coupons, but as the invitation was pressing I did not refuse; in any case I wanted to see what food one could get in a German restaurant. The waiter appeared with a single dish, a brown mess. On enquiry I found it consisted of brown dried beans, put through a mincer. The only addition to the beans was salt; not an ounce of meat or fat any way description. There were no supplementaries, no bread or vegetables, just these minced beans cooked in water and salt.

by  
**INGEBORG  
WOODCOCK**

Everybody tucked in with a good appetite and remarked what an excellent meal it was. I could not eat more than a mouthful, with the best will in the world. This is the regular German diet.

It is true that the people in country districts fare better and look healthier, but as I spent most of my time in the Ruhr I came across the worst conditions. Even so, the majority of the people one sees in the streets are the comparatively vigorous and healthy; for a large proportion, the sick and old—and there are many of these—one never sees, as they are too weak to leave their houses. And, in fact, I cannot remember seeing any old people at all; most of them were young people up to 40 or 45. In Dortmund and Wuppertal I saw a number of children with the obvious signs of undernourishment, swollen bellies and disproportionately thin arms and legs.

What will become of the future generation there is little doubt. The children will grow up into diseased adults, and their average age at death will be 30 or 40. The question is whether speedy relief can be brought to avoid further years of suffering. A very simple solution exists and this was repeated by every German I talked with, from simple workers to university professors: abolish the zonal frontiers, and Ger-

many can help herself. Of course, one knows that this would be only a partial solution, but if people had even 2,000 calories of nourishment it might be easier to think of work of reconstruction.

Actually, in spite of under-nourishment and a complete lack of new materials, the Germans are already doing much unobtrusive reconstruction work. There were already many new buildings rising up. They were by no means finished examples of building work. The bricks from bombed buildings were simply cleaned up and stuck together with improvised mortar, and there was the house, with odd windows and doors, and without paint or stucco. But anybody who has any kind of roof over his head thinks himself lucky.

Where many of the people live is a mystery to everybody. In the morning the streets of completely ruined towns like Hanover are crowded with people. They cannot come in from the country, as communications are far too bad, the few trams, trains and buses being filled inside and out to their fullest capacity. I was told that very many people live in cellars, but I saw this only twice. Once a woman and a whole family of children were emerging from their subterranean habitation, a black gaping hole under an enormous pile of rubble.

The bombed buildings are worth mentioning because in England one always has the impression that German bombed-out towns are flattened, like Plymouth, but this is not so. Most of the shells of the houses stand up to the second storey, with large empty holes for windows and inside heaped rubble. Driving through the streets one feels fenced in by these encased stone heaps, under which the bodies of thousands of dead people are still lying. In all these bombed areas there is a persistent stench of decay; it is only surprising that there are so few epidemics among the population whose resistance has been so sapped by years of under-nourishment.

This is the background against which the social issues of Germany have to be studied today.

## Ten Years Ago

From Peace News, Aug. 21, 1937

# ARMAMENTS GET NOBODY ANYWHERE



# AND EVERYBODY NOWHERE

# THE ADELPHI PLAYERS

## A Tabloid History

**T**HE Adelphi Players were never a specifically "pacifist" company; they no more wished to be exclusive than to be excluded; and propaganda was certainly never part of their purpose. Nevertheless, the majority of the company's early members were conscientious objectors who found in its work the opportunity to make a creative response to the war.

When, at the beginning of 1941, I left the Pilgrim Players to form a professional company of my own, our first headquarters was The Oaks at Langham, the Land Training Centre of which Max Plowman, also at that time the editor of The Adelphi, was warden.

Rehearsals began on May 1, or would have done had all the actors I had engaged turned up. But some had mumps, and some just didn't come, and one came but expected to be snatched away immediately by the Ministry of Labour (later we were regarded as a legitimate form of National Service). However, other actors were found and the first production opened at The Oaks itself, on the date scheduled, May 23.

### The first tour

This production began to tour the village halls of the neighbourhood in the evenings, while rehearsals for the second production went on at The Oaks by day. It opened in a church hall in Colchester on June 4, the day after Max Plowman's death. Soon after, the Players moved to London and there began a long season, broken by short visits to the Southern Counties and by rehearsal-periods at The Oaks, which lasted—a great many of its performances taking place in air-raid shelters—through the winter of 1941-2.

Meanwhile, we were increasing our membership, adding plays to our repertory, and doing our best to improve the standard of our performances; it certainly needed it. In 1942 we began to tour further afield, in South Wales and the industrial North of England, and later that year we moved to new headquarters at Ilkley in Yorkshire.

It may be asked what we felt to be behind this work, what principals and ideals actuated us? No doubt we had a great many ideals of a kind; but I think we were a good deal more aware of certain practical facts: the need to earn our bread honestly in war-time and the day-to-day difficulty of putting on our performances.

### Preserving values

We wanted to be of use to the society in which we found ourselves by taking to ordinary men and women, anywhere, plays and performances of the highest quality we could achieve. We knew that values were slipping rapidly; in a world crazed with the notion of quantity, we wanted to try, in so far as we were able, to concentrate on quality.

We stuck, therefore, to plays which, because artists had written them—Marlowe, Webster, Ibsen, Flecker, Milton, Strindberg—reflected in one way or another the true values of human personality. But we had to struggle endlessly with our limitations, financial and otherwise, and they never failed to beat us.

The limitations of war-time trans-

own lack of talent to the constant use of hopelessly small, ill-equipped, dirty and make-shift stages, the pre-

### R. H. WARD

port, labour, lodgings, air-raids, coupons, red-tape were bad enough. But we added to these a number of artistic limitations, ranging from our ease difficulties in connexion with which it is obviously impossible for the layman to appreciate.

There was always one reward, which can be said to belong to the "ideals" we held: we came to understand that there were always one or two in our audiences who came away from our performances refreshed in mind and heart, even a little inspired. But there was always one disappointment: because of the practical difficulties, the performance was never as good as it ought to have been. To some extent, then, the ideals were always being realised, but at the same

time their realisation was always being cancelled out.

At first our salary was £2 a week. We lived on it. Presently it crept up to £3 10s. and there remained for a long time. We all earned the same, and we all, in one way or another, took a hand in the management of the company.

We had not set out to form "a community." We had set out to act plays. But in doing so we brought a community into being; among us, at least for a time, there existed what I can only call the love of the brethren. It was somehow part of the same thing that we should have been so extraordinarily kindly treated by the innumerable people we met on our way. Only once were we told that we ought to be shot for not being in uniform.

### Call-up consequences

If one of us disobeyed a call-up order and was carted off to prison (once or twice we all were: to give a

### AFTER - EFFECTS

The plea that special work carried out during service in the Commandos exercised an influence on a man's mind was put forward in a trial at York Assizes.

The man was said to have instructed others in the art of breaking open safes with explosives.

It was declared that while serving in Italy he was dropped by parachute behind the enemy's lines his task being to blow open safes in certain buildings to obtain possession of documents containing valuable information.

—News of the World 6-7-47.

performance: and they let us out again afterwards, too), it was our local organizers and audiences—schoolmasters, parsons, tradespeople, men and women in the Services—who got angry about it and asked why these players could not be left alone—weren't they doing a useful job, and hadn't they as good a chance as any of getting bombs dropped on them (had they not indeed!)?

(To be concluded)

# THE IDEAL AND THE PRACTICAL

"**P**ACIFISM is a noble ideal, but it's not practicable"

—this is the reason which a great many people give for not accepting it. I believe they are right in seeing that pacifism is not politically relevant (when the phrase is properly defined), but wrong in regarding this as a reason for rejecting it.

What do we mean by "politically relevant"? Pacifists have sometimes used the phrase loosely, insisting that their faith is politically relevant when they simply mean that it is politically sound, and indeed, the only workable policy. To be politically relevant a policy need not be sound or right, but must be the kind of policy which seems so to the majority.

### Not on the cards

That a policy is politically relevant merely means that it is "on the cards," that it is the kind of policy which stands a real chance of being adopted by those now in power (without their undergoing any miraculous conversion). It has, in other words, to be psychologically relevant. And it may be that the state of mind of mankind today is such that all the relevant policies are in fact unsound and dangerous.

Thus to say that non-violence is not politically relevant is simply to point out that it is not within the range of ideas which appeal to the nation as a whole, or (therefore) to the Government. The total rejection of war is, we believe, practical politics: it would work if it were tried. But it is not practical politics to suppose that it is likely to be tried in the immediate future. Pacifism is thus "politically irrelevant" in the sense that there are not enough pacifists to make it relevant. For the "practicability" of a policy depends not so much on its merits as on its popularity, and it is because pacifism lacks popularity that it lacks immediate relevance.

### Misleading test

But obviously its irrelevance is a reason not for rejecting but for ceasing to reject it; for it is precisely its rejection on the ground of irrelevance that makes it irrelevant! This test of practical relevance is therefore a wholly misleading one. Pacifism should be examined on its merits, and accepted if it seems right. If sufficient people accepted it in spite of its irrelevance, it would automatically become relevant. But to reject it out of hand merely means accepting passively the policies which are now being pursued, whether they are right or wrong.

The moral health as well as the physical security of the world requires that we should support policies because they are right, and not solely because they seem expedient or easy. This fact indicates, I believe, the true nature of pacifism, and

underlines the complete irrelevance of the common objection against it that it is not immediately practicable.

Pacifism is not primarily a political policy at all—for it is misleading to treat as a directly available alternative policy, a course which depends upon a prior change of heart and mind in millions of people. Pacifism is not policy but prophecy. Prophecy, however, not as foresight but as insight; it is not a matter of foretelling the future, but of revealing the true significance of the present. Normally we understand the real issues of the present only when they are already past; to understand live history is prophecy. The real significance of the present time, according to the prophecy of pacifism, is that it is not, as it seems, merely a complex of political movements and counter-movements, all more or less justified by national interests, but that it is a state of universal rebellion against the will of God, of universal infringement of the law of life, which must lead to disaster, not merely for this nation or that, but for all. The reliance on power politics, with its sundering of the human community into competing groups, is the road to death, spiritual as well as physical. Even if we cannot map the course of this road into the future, we can recognise its character in the present; and we know that a structure built upon sand cannot be made safe.

### Prophetic comment

Pacifism stands for a prophetic and religious interpretation of history. It proclaims that although immoral expediencies may tide us over a crisis, they can in reality only tide us into greater crises; that there is no escape from the vicious circle except by deliberately breaking it. Thus pacifism is profoundly relevant to the life of the world, not as a detailed policy, but as a prophetic comment—a comment the proclamation of which may, however, make a new policy possible.

To recognise that pacifism is today politically irrelevant is not to deny but to assert, our immediate political responsibility. For that the rejection of war is still an ideal means that we can, and indeed must, advocate interim compromise policies which fall short of that ideal, but which are actually possible in the present state of the world. We can judge immediate possibilities in the light of a transcendent possibility, and support those which tend towards its realisation. This is our constructive function in a non-pacifist world. But we are logically debarred from it if we mistakenly insist that pure pacifism is itself an immediate possibility; for if it is, why advocate compromise measures? Only the recognition that the ideal for which we stand is an ideal, and that it is not yet relevant to the world situation (except as a measure by which

to judge it), can give us a legitimate standpoint in the contemporary political scene, and a warrant for concerning ourselves in its day-to-day issues.

To act in terms of immediate political realities without ceasing to strive for a higher ideal is to bring a new dimension of responsibility into political affairs. To witness to this total responsibility in politics is the pacifist's contribution today.

**John Hick**

### Words of Peace - No. 219

### TRUE EQUALITY

*Remember you are all brothers. All men are equal in the eyes of God. And your lives and your property are all sacred; in no case should you attack each other's life and property. Today I trample under my feet all distinction of caste, colour and nationality. All men are sons of Adam: and Adam was of dust.*

—The Koran.

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### THE . . .

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**BROADCAST APPEAL** on

Sun., 24th Aug., 1947, at 8.25 p.m. **IN THE BBC HOME SERVICE**

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### A LONDON AREA

### YOUTH CONFERENCE

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Parents, Teachers and Club Leaders specially invited. It is hoped that a Committee to carry on pacifist work among young people in London will be formed.





Edited by ROGER PAGE

## A GREAT CLOWN

THE D'Oyly Carte Opera Company, which spends most of its time in the provinces—lucky provinces!—has just completed one of its rare visits to London. The company includes some old stalwarts, but also many new names, including some who have not before sung principal roles in London. They have always been a good company—and, of course, nobody can do Gilbert and Sullivan operas quite as well—but this year they are very good indeed.

Some of the new singers are definite acquisitions, especially on the male side. That it seems less true of the ladies may be because we lack the charm and lightness of Marjorie Eyre. Am I never to see her again as 'Iolanthe'? That is almost incredible, and quite sad.

The general level of the performances is higher, no doubt because demobilisation has strengthened and increased the company. What helps too, is that a little fresh 'business' has been introduced—although some of it is about as necessary for this pointing of Gilbert's wit as a pile-driver would be to plant a chrysanthemum cutting.

But the most notable, and welcome feature of the season has been the return of Martyn Green in the leading comedy roles, which he took over when the late Sir Henry Lytton retired. His art has matured, and he brings distinction to every role he plays. His diction is nothing short of miraculous; even in the patter songs we hear every word. He sings well; he dances with a wonderful lightness and agility. He does not force the author's wit, but gently underlines it by controlled gestures, and delicate inflexion. Furthermore, he has a great gift of pathos, as is notably shown in 'The Mikado' when he hushes the vast house with his rendering of the 'Tit-willow' song. Altogether, he is, I am sure, a truly great clown, and to be this, is to be something great indeed. Lovers of Gilbert and Sullivan need no recommendation to the D'Oyly Carte Company when it visits their own district; they would go if every drama critic in creation said stay away. My recommendation would be to those who are not 'G and S' lovers, but who care for the fine things of the theatre;

and to them I say go and see the acting of Mr. Martyn Green.

These operas maintain their hold on the public, and show every sign of continuing to do so. Every audience contains a batch of first-attenders to season the addicts—for it is easy to spot amongst the laughs, those who are seeing the joke for the first time, as well as those who see it again.

I write as a non-attached addict, and will dare the sacrifice of suggesting that perhaps now a few programme notes will help towards greater enjoyment. The miracle is how almost all of Gilbert's wit is still topical, and how fresh it seems after all these years. But when the Fairy Queen apostrophises Captain Shaw, it would help the audience to know that he was the chief of the London Fire Brigade when 'Iolanthe' was written, and although Sir Joseph Porter is funny as he stands, there would be additional appreciation if people could be told that the character was really a satire on W. H. Smith, of bookstall fame.

I well remember my own introduction to these wonderful operas. My school had been founded at a time when the plays of Shakespeare were still those new things they did a few years back, and perhaps for that reason a yearly Shakespeare orgy was inevitable. But then came 'Cliffy', to smash this tradition, and the good ship H.M.S. Pinafore took the place of Shakespeare. We all enjoyed it, although not to the full, for I remember that when the lass who loves a sailor sings

"I'd laugh my rank to scorn  
In union holy,  
Were he more highly born,  
Or I more lowly"

I was puzzled, and pointed out to 'Cliffy' that this didn't mean anything. He was very kind, but he said I would see the point when I was a bit older. He was right: I did.

## HISTORY WITHOUT TEARS

THE revival of that punster's paradise, the 'historical' revue 1066 and all That was not previously noticed in these columns because it was due to finish its run. But it has since settled down, evidently very nicely, at the Palace Theatre. It is worth seeing if you want to acquire a properly disrespectful attitude to history as she is taught.

I do not think it has been improved by the addition of a number of topical references to fuel and food shortages, and to other manifestations of our present civilisation; the original script was witty enough, and I wish

we had it now. On the other hand, I am perhaps indulging a merely personal squeamishness when I say that I do not think the atom bomb a fit subject for joking.

However, even if these are valid criticisms—and they may not be—what remains is a joyous and irreverent entertainment, well worth anybody's money, and thoroughly suitable for a family visit. Leslie Henson, who takes the lead, needs no recommendation from me; everybody knows he is one of our few really funny men. In this production he is very good indeed, and he is very well backed-up by his colleagues.

## 'FRIEDA' AGAIN

I READ Margaret Tims's letter about 'Frieda' in time for it to send me off to see the film again, in order to try to get Miss Tims's angle on it. For I recalled that when I first saw this film we were suffering one of our heat-waves, and I thought it possible—so forthright and downright was my critic's letter—that the temperature had got me down. But I remain unrepentant; a second view of 'Frieda' merely confirms me in my first judgment.

So Miss Tims and I, agreeing only in saying that people should see the front end of the film first, have no point of agreement about this film, and must each go our way rejoicing. I could not comment on Miss Tims's letter without giving 'Frieda' more attention than I think it deserves: I will make but two points.

Firstly: Miss Tims described the film as 'the first spark of humanity in ten years.' That, quite bluntly, is nonsense, and almost invalidates anything else Miss Tims could say. Secondly: Why the polemical dodge of referring to 'carping criticisms'?—the more especially as it suggests a sniping about points of detail, whereas, I protest, I tried to throw a full-sized bomb at 'Frieda.' R.P.

## RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS  
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

## SAVE EUROPE NOW GETS £76,550

SAVE Europe Now's European Relief Fund received £76,550 between September 1, 1946, and June 30, 1947. Before leaving for Germany, Mr. R. R. Stokes, M.P., Acting Hon. Treasurer of SEN, gave an account of how this sum had been used for the purchase of relief supplies, mainly food.

Friends Relief Service	£45,395
Oecumenical Refugee Commission	11,780
Aid to Austria Appeal	14,191
AND FROM THE SPECIAL LONDON APPEAL	
Save the Children Fund	450
The Catholic Committee for Relief Abroad	450
The Jewish Committee for Relief Abroad	450
Expenses of the Appeal	1,419
Balance at bank, 30-6-47	2,415
Total	£76,550

Following the closing down of the Aid to Austria Appeal Committee, the Fund has been reorganised, and from Aug. 1, 1947, donations will be divided according to need, and the value of supplies available, between the following societies:—

Friends Relief Service  
Oecumenical Refugee Commission  
Save Europe Now Supplies Fund  
German Educational Reconstruction.  
The first three bodies are registered as war charities, and an application for registration by German Educational Reconstruction is now with the London County Council. Donations may be earmarked for any one of the above societies.

Since last December, Save Europe Now has sent over 30,000 food parcels for general relief in Europe.

Until now, donors of these parcels have contributed 1s. 6d. towards the cost of handling and shipping. This is no longer necessary, as in future the cost will be met from this new Supplies Fund.

The need for relief in Europe during the coming winter will be as great as ever, and it must be stressed that a gift of money now means that help will be available when winter begins. Donations of money should be sent to "Save Europe Now, European Relief Fund," 15 James Street, London, W.C.2., and application for labels for food parcels (accompanied by a stamped addressed envelope) to the same address.

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## MEETINGS, &c.

MAURICE ROWNTREE Memorial ramble Sun., Aug. 31, tea arranged. Starting from Hertford North 10.30; train King's X 9.24 a.m., Gordon Hill 9.58.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE. Theosophical Hall, Barras Bridge, Sat., Aug. 30, 3 p.m. North East Area PPU will hold a special meeting of members, to consider Constitution and the AGM resolution as affecting future activity.

PLYMOUTH. Sun., Aug. 31, 7 p.m. Spkr.: Henry Hilditch. Pitch, Citadel Rd., entrance Hoe Promenade. Plymouth PPU Group.

WEIGH HOUSE CHURCH, Duke St., W.1. Bond St. Tube. "The Gospel of Peace!" Sun. evenings at 8.30. Social hr. follows.

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GLASGOW. UNIVERSITY lecturer seeks bedrm. and board pending acquisition of home for family. Victor Holtum, 29 The Byeways, Surbiton, Surrey.

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WAR RESISTERS' International wd. welcome gifts of foreign stamps for subsequent sale on behalf of W.R.I. funds. Any such gifts received with gratitude. Pl. send to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield.

## LITERATURE, &c.

QUAKERISM. Information and Literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London.

## PERSONAL

ACTIVE PROPONENTS. Gerald Heard or Aldous Huxley basic theories 1935-1945, or Somerset Maugham's Razor Edge. Write Sec. Heard-Huxley Group, "Merville," Tulse Hill, S.W.2.

MR. ATTLEE.—Sir, It's damnable to increase foodstuffs allocations to distilleries whilst you again cut the food rations of ordinary citizens and allocate only part of the spirits to dollar exports. Lamb, 28 Meadow Close, Ruislip.

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TEACHER REQD. non-resident private school in north-east England, preferably graduate, main subject Physics preferably to Higher Certificate, hard worker would have sound prospects, part-time could be arranged, non-graduate would have time for study, very good sal., must be keen on laboratory wk. Box 741.

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## Indirect Direction

### COMMENTARY CONTINUED

hours out of the savings and earnings of hard-working, free American capitalism. We should probably not be terribly pleased ourselves if some other country, wanting to work shorter hours than we do and firmly believing in an economic system disliked by us, wanted our help, and wanted it by means likely to mean increased taxation for ourselves. Which brings me to the next point, not perhaps quite so fully left in obscurity—but nearly as much so—which should be explained, and explained again and again, to the masses who are asked for ever greater efforts. The full implementation of a socialist programme is a sheer impossibility for a country while it remains dependent on loans from another which is capitalistic; nor can it be carried through, even apart from this condition, without considerable interference with individual liberty.

### Acceptable socialism

**T**HE idea that you can make socialism acceptable to America by making it mild and half-hearted, and individual freedom acceptable to the doctrinaires of the Kremlin by whittling it away in bits in the hope that Russia will gleefully count the bits you have whittled away while the home population will fail to see them, and thus produce something likely to be welcomed by both, is not worth bothering about. You cannot make a positive success out of two half-negatives, they'll never add up to more than one whole failure. The whole trend of our times is as much against capitalism as it is against unrestricted personal freedom. Both, in the last resort, need more space than the modern world has to give, and both are constantly having to give way to the need for planning.

We can be honest about this measure of compulsion or try to deceive ourselves about it. A good deal of Mr. Churchill's thunder last Saturday against the Labour Government was directed specifically against the powers it had just taken for the direction of labour. Not being a pacifist, he thinks such things completely right in wartime but wrong now. But only a week before he spoke, the *Economist* had written that a moderate degree of unemployment would be a godsend for the coal-mines—and arguing from the orthodox viewpoint of capitalist economy, the *Economist* was perfectly right. A floating mass of unemployment, not too great, combined with fear of dismissal on the part of the individual worker, would certainly solve most of the moment's labour difficulties. But is compulsion, thinly disguised by fear of unemployment, less of an interference with individual liberty than direction of labour by a Minister?

### THE ROOT OF THE TROUBLE IN RHEUMATISM AND CATARRH

is not reached by treatments which suppress the symptoms but leave the cause untouched.

## ALLY SOL

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### Blasphemy

**H**ITLER'S misdeeds, and seven years of propaganda, have turned the first word of criticism against democracy into something resembling blasphemy. Let us remember, against this, that these seven years have also taught us that there are several versions of democracy and that Victor Hugo, almost a hundred years ago, put a depth of meaning which has never yet been surpassed into the discussions on freedom by saying that one man's liberty and rights must stop at the precise point where another's begin. The more crowded the world grows, the quicker, quite naturally, does each one of us hit the spot where another man's rights begin.

In our outward and collective relations as a nation, we have just proved our acceptance of Victor Hugo's truth by the example set in India. As individuals, within the nation, it is up to all of us to show the same spirit; and it is words pointing to the fact that, for this reason, this crisis is different from all previous ones, and that behind it stands the as yet unanswered question whether atomic power is to become the great destroyer or the magician to usher in the world's era of plenty, that I have missed most from both Mr. Attlee's and Mr. Churchill's ways of dealing with the situation. Neither of them has displayed much capacity for thinking in a straight line, from individual values to those of the whole world community.

The official announcement from Downing Street, following upon the special Cabinet meeting on Sunday afternoon, for the sake of which I had to keep this commentary open until after its normal time of despatch, calls for one observation only: that so uncommunicative a statement should have been issued after a Cabinet meeting held in such circumstances is—well, shall we say, excessively uncommunicative.

Next week's commentator  
VERA BRITAIN

### PPU GREET'S INDIAN LEADERS

The following telegrams were despatched by the PPU to the leaders of India and Pakistan last week:—

**GANDHI, CALCUTTA.**

Share your deep feelings August 15. May your best hopes be fulfilled. Send you loving thoughts.—Stuart Morris, PPU, London.

**PANDIT NEHRU, NEW DELHI.**

Peace Pledge Union, London, desires to greet you and send best wishes in new responsibilities. May India prosper.—Stuart Morris.

**QUAID-I-AZAM JINNAH, GOVERNMENT HOUSE, KARACHI.**

Peace Pledge Union, London, congratulates you on August 15, sending greetings and best wishes for future.—Stuart Morris.

### More libraries taking PN

As a result of approaches by our local workers, the libraries at Chelsea and Hinkley (Leicestershire) have recently agreed to add Peace News to their reading rooms. And a relief worker in the famous Ruhr industrial centre of Essen writes to tell us that the local librarian "is very anxious to have a special stand" for the literature of WRI's German Section, amongst which Peace News will be included.

Bristol Central Group hope to get the paper back in their libraries too, but there are still very many towns and districts where the paper is quite unknown to the general public. If your nearest reading room does not include Peace News, why not write to the local Library Committee asking them to take it? An offer to pay a subscription for it to be sent direct from here may well influence a favourable decision. You ought to try, anyway!

## DORSET KEEPS THE BAN ON C.O. TEACHERS

### "Crime of being in a Minority"

**C**ONSCIENTIOUS objectors are not to be employed in Dorset schools.

This decision was arrived at only after three lively discussions; the first was when the Dorset Education Committee meeting on July 9 dealt with a recommendation of the Primary Education Sub-Committee to rescind a war-time minute "not to employ any teacher who was exempt from military service on conscientious grounds."

At the end of the debate the meeting was equally divided; 18 hands being shown for the recommendation and 18 against, whereupon the Chairman, Mr. A. J. Woodroffe, gave a casting vote against the recommendation.

When the matter came before the South Dorset Divisional Executive on July 25 the following resolution was moved by the Rev. E. Brown:

"That this Executive disassociates itself from the decision of the Dorset Education Committee not to rescind the war-time minute relative to the employment of conscientious objectors as teachers. Feeling that this is an infringement of the liberty of the teacher and thereby constitutes an act of discrimination, it urges that the views expressed in this Executive be submitted to the County Council."

On being put to the meeting the resolution was carried by seven votes to four. Finally the County Council, meeting at Dorchester, adhered to their previous resolution on the matter.

Claiming that the whole thing was an infringement of the right of the subject, Mr. G. England moved that the word "not" in the Committee's recommendation should be deleted. "We are planning our education in Dorset with vision," he said, "and I suggest we try to start our new schools with a new and better understanding."

Captain H. Kirby, seconding, pointed out that conscientious objection was something recognised by the law of the land and it seemed that the Education Committee were setting themselves up as a Tribunal over and above that law. "I don't think any of us are in a position to judge," he declared.

Commander H. K. B. Mitchell did not think there was any question of judging.

"The question before the council is not one of judging whether the C.O.s are right or wrong," he said, "it is a question of whether they are the most suitable people to be employed as teachers in our schools in Dorset."

"I do not argue conscientious objectors might not fulfil other posts with great distinction, or that they are not fully entitled to their views... but I do say that a teacher in a school should be guide, philosopher and friend to the children. They have a very important role to play, not only in teaching, but in the formation of the children's character, and that is something more important than pure education." (Dorset Daily Echo)

Remarking that there were two kinds of conscientious objectors—the one who really was a CO and the one who was when it suited his purpose—Mr. S. J. Gale asked if it was not a fact that in the case of a recent county school appointment the governors would not consider an applicant because he was a Quaker. "I

say this is wrong," he said. "You do not ask a man if he is a RC or a Non-conformist. Why should you ask if he is a CO?"

Mr. F. C. Reeves said conscientious objectors' only crime, so far as he could see, was that they were in the minority while Mr. R. J. Woodroffe said when he started a discussion on the subject among some schoolboys aged between 15 and 17, their attitude was the same as that of the Education Committee.

When Mr. E. Putnam said COs were attacked, not as individuals but for what they stood for, which he described as "anti-social in a time of crisis," Captain B. P. Leschallas thought it was hardly anti-social if a man did not want to kill.

Mr. England's amendment was defeated by 35 votes to 30.

Mr. Reeves then asked whether he could put a notice of motion rescinding the Commandment, "Thou shalt not kill." To this Councilor Mitchell retorted, "I believe, sir, there is a Commandment which says 'Six days shalt thou labour.'"

### PEACE TENT AT EISTEDDFOD

**T**HE pacifist witness has not been wanting at the National Eisteddfod, which has been held in Colwyn Bay during the past week. Heddychwyr Cymru had taken one of the small tents which different organisations are allowed to hire, and this provided both an opportunity for the display and sale of literature, and a centre for enquiries. The Rev. A. E. Williams, who was kindly in attendance for most of the time, reports that considerable interest was shown, and a fair amount of literature sold.

A public meeting was held in the "tent of all the societies"—a marquee set apart for sectional meetings, at 11.30 on August 7, when there was an interested audience. The chair was taken by the Principal of Bala Bangor College, and the main speakers were George Davies, D. E. Williams of Pontyberem, and Stuart Morris.

Later in the day, a meeting of PPU representatives was held in the Friends Meeting House. It was decided to draft a manifesto for signatures by prominent Welshmen, urging a resistance to the new National Service Act, and also to call another meeting of the Welsh National Council in connection with a national conference on conscription, which has been arranged to take place at Llandriddod Wells on September 17 and 18.

It is hoped that in addition to planning the fullest possible PPU co-operation in this campaign, decisions will also be reached at this future meeting about the organisation of the PPU in Wales.

STUART MORRIS.

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